

Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

DCI/DDCI Executive Staff

BSq Folder
SGOC BSq 18 May 89

7 April 1989

NOTE FOR: DCI

SUBJECT: Invitations for Congressional Testimony on
Missile Proliferation

In response to your question, your earlier testimony before Senators Glenn and Nunn focused on proliferation of chemical and biological weapons. A copy of that testimony is attached. The new request from Senator Glenn concerns proliferation of missiles rather than chemical weapons in particular. The request was stimulated by your remarks on this subject in your recent speech in Los Angeles.

Paul

Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

DCI/DDCI Executive Staff

6 April 1989

NOTE FOR: DCI

Congressional Affairs indicates that Senator Glenn's Committee on Government Operations has invited you to testify in open session on the proliferation of ballistic missiles; 1000-1200 on 18 May has tentatively been placed on your schedule for such testimony. Congressional Affairs would like your agreement, however, before they go ahead and firmly schedule such testimony and begin preparations for it.



Paul



Approve

Disapprove

*I thought I covered
this in the Glenn - Name
Joint testimony. Wrong?*

(previous testimony)

SENATOR GLENN AND SENATOR NUNN AND MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE AND MEMBERS OF THE PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS, I AM HONORED TO APPEAR BEFORE YOU TO DISCUSS THE VERY SERIOUS PROBLEM OF THE PROLIFERATION OF CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS.

CHEMICAL WEAPONS PROLIFERATION IS PART OF THE DISTURBING TREND OF WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES. CURRENTLY, WE BELIEVE THAT AS MANY AS 20 COUNTRIES MAY BE DEVELOPING CHEMICAL WEAPONS. AND WE EXPECT THIS TREND TO CONTINUE, DESPITE ONGOING MULTILATERAL EFFORTS TO STOP THEIR PROLIFERATION.

A MAJOR QUESTION WE ARE NOW ADDRESSING IS WHAT LESSONS HAVE BEEN LEARNED FROM THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR, THE FIRST WAR SINCE WORLD WAR I THAT INVOLVED SUSTAINED USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS. AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, THE USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS WAS OUTLAWED BY THE SIGNERS OF THE 1925 GENEVA PROTOCOL. DURING WORLD WAR II--EVEN DURING THE MOST DESPERATE BATTLES--BOTH SIDES REFRAINED FROM USING CHEMICAL WEAPONS--WEAPONS THAT WINSTON CHURCHILL REFERRED TO AS "THAT HELLISH POISON."

THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR ENDED THAT RESTRAINT AND SET A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT FOR FUTURE WARS. THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY HAS EVIDENCE THAT IRAQ USED CHEMICAL WEAPONS AGAINST IRAN AND ALSO AGAINST IRAQI KURDS. IRAN, TOO, EMPLOYED CHEMICAL WEAPONS AGAINST IRAQI TROOPS.

CHEMICAL WEAPONS ARE THOUGHT TO OFFER A CHEAP AND READILY OBTAINABLE MEANS OF REDRESSING THE MILITARY BALANCE AGAINST MORE POWERFUL FOES. SOME SEE THEM AS THE POOR MAN'S ANSWER TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS. OUR PRESIDENT HAS SPOKEN OUT STRONGLY ABOUT THIS PROBLEM, AND I AM SURE YOU HAVE READ MANY ACCOUNTS RECENTLY ABOUT THE USE AND EFFECTS OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

MANY COUNTRIES ARE DEVELOPING MUSTARD GAS, A TERRIBLE WEAPON FIRST USED IN WORLD WAR I. IT IS A FAVORITE CHEMICAL AGENT FOR SEVERAL REASONS--ITS RELATIVE EASE OF MANUFACTURE, ITS LONG LIFE IN STORAGE AND ON THE BATTLEFIELD, AND ITS ABILITY TO INCAPACITATE THOSE WHO ARE EXPOSED TO IT.

SOME COUNTRIES ARE ALSO DEVELOPING NERVE AGENTS. THESE AGENTS, THOUGH MORE DIFFICULT TO MANUFACTURE, CAN CAUSE DEATH IN MINUTES BY ATTACKING THE BRAIN AND

NERVOUS SYSTEM. OTHER NATIONS MAY USE COMMON INDUSTRIAL CHEMICALS SUCH AS CYANIDE AND PHOSGENE. CYANIDE PREVENTS THE BLOOD FROM CARRYING OXYGEN, WHILE PHOSGENE, WIDELY USED IN MAKING PLASTICS, CAN DESTROY THE LUNGS.

ALONG WITH THE PROLIFERATION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS, TWO EQUALLY DISTURBING DEVELOPMENTS ARE THE PROLIFERATION OF BOTH BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS AND BALLISTIC MISSILES.

WE ARE CONCERNED THAT THE MORAL BARRIER TO BIOLOGICAL WARFARE HAS BEEN BREACHED. AT LEAST 10 COUNTRIES ARE WORKING TO PRODUCE BOTH PREVIOUSLY KNOWN AND FUTURISTIC BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS. BIOLOGICAL WARFARE AGENTS--INCLUDING TOXINS--ARE MORE POTENT THAN THE MOST DEADLY CHEMICAL WARFARE AGENTS, AND PROVIDE THE BROADEST AREA COVERAGE PER POUND OF PAYLOAD OF ANY WEAPON SYSTEM.

THE EQUIPMENT USED TO PRODUCE BIOLOGICAL WARFARE AGENTS IS TRULY DUAL-USE IN NATURE. WITH CURRENTLY AVAILABLE TECHNOLOGY, BIOLOGICAL WARFARE AGENTS CAN BE PRODUCED AT SUCH A RATE THAT STOCKPILES ARE NO LONGER NECESSARY. THERE ARE NO PRECURSOR CHEMICALS OR

EQUIPMENT THAT CAN BE USED ONLY FOR THE PRODUCTION OF BIOLOGICAL WARFARE AGENTS. ACTUALLY, ANY NATION WITH A MODESTLY DEVELOPED PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY CAN PRODUCE BIOLOGICAL WARFARE AGENTS, IF IT CHOOSES.

FINALLY, BY THE YEAR 2000, AT LEAST 15 DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WILL BE PRODUCING THEIR OWN BALLISTIC MISSILES. BALLISTIC MISSILES CONVEY IMPORTANT NEW POLITICAL AND MILITARY STATUS TO THOSE WHO ACQUIRE THEM. MANY COUNTRIES WHERE THESE MISSILES ARE BEING DEVELOPED ARE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

ALL OF THE THIRD WORLD MISSILE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS RELY ON FOREIGN TECHNOLOGY TO SOME DEGREE. BUT MUCH OF THIS CRITICAL TECHNOLOGY IS ALREADY DIFFUSED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, IS AVAILABLE FOR OTHER PURPOSES, OR CAN EASILY BE DIVERTED. THERE IS ALSO EXTENSIVE SHARING OF TECHNOLOGY AMONG THIRD WORLD MISSILE COUNTRIES, AND THEY ARE INCREASINGLY POOLING THEIR RESOURCES AND TECHNICAL KNOW-HOW.

WITH THE INCREASE OF BALLISTIC MISSILES IN THE THIRD WORLD, THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY MUST BE ALERT TO

NECESSARY. THERE ARE NO PRECURSOR CHEMICALS OR EQUIPMENT THAT CAN BE USED ONLY FOR THE PRODUCTION OF BIOLOGICAL WARFARE AGENTS. ACTUALLY, ANY NATION WITH A MODESTLY DEVELOPED PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY CAN PRODUCE BIOLOGICAL WARFARE AGENTS, IF IT CHOOSES.

FINALLY, BY THE YEAR 2000, AT LEAST 15 DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WILL EITHER HAVE PRODUCED OR BE ABLE TO BUILD THEIR OWN BALLISTIC MISSILES. BALLISTIC MISSILES CONVEY IMPORTANT NEW POLITICAL AND MILITARY STATUS TO THOSE WHO ACQUIRE THEM. MANY COUNTRIES WHERE THESE MISSILES ARE BEING DEVELOPED ARE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

ALL OF THE THIRD WORLD MISSILE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS RELY ON FOREIGN TECHNOLOGY TO SOME DEGREE. BUT MUCH OF THIS CRITICAL TECHNOLOGY IS ALREADY DIFFUSED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, IS AVAILABLE FOR OTHER PURPOSES, OR CAN EASILY BE DIVERTED. THERE IS ALSO EXTENSIVE SHARING OF TECHNOLOGY AMONG THIRD WORLD MISSILE COUNTRIES, AND THEY ARE INCREASINGLY POOLING THEIR RESOURCES AND TECHNICAL KNOW-HOW.

WITH THE INCREASE OF BALLISTIC MISSILES IN THE THIRD WORLD, THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY MUST BE ALERT TO

ATTEMPTS BY THESE NATIONS TO ARM MISSILES WITH CHEMICAL OR BIOLOGICAL WARHEADS. WE WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE U. S. POLICYMAKERS WITH TIMELY AND ACCURATE INFORMATION ON THE CAPABILITIES OF COUNTRIES TO DEVELOP AND PRODUCE BALLISTIC MISSILES AND CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS.

LET ME NOW DIRECT YOUR ATTENTION TO THE TROUBLED MIDDLE EAST, THE CURRENT CENTER OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS PROLIFERATION.

THE PROLIFERATION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS AFFECTS THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. OF PARTICULAR CONCERN ARE IRAQ, SYRIA, IRAN, AND LIBYA--NATIONS THAT HAVE EITHER USED CHEMICAL WEAPONS OR HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH TERRORIST ACTIVITIES.

IRAQ HAS PRODUCED CHEMICAL WARFARE AGENTS SINCE THE EARLY 1980S, WITH SYRIA AND IRAN BEGINNING CHEMICAL AGENT AND MUNITION PRODUCTION SHORTLY AFTERWARD. LIBYA IS NEARLY READY TO BEGIN LARGE-SCALE PRODUCTION OF CHEMICAL AGENTS AND MUNITIONS.

IRAQ, SYRIA, AND IRAN ARE STOCKPILING A VARIETY OF CHEMICAL WARFARE AGENTS FOR VARIOUS BATTLEFIELD MISSIONS.

STOCKS OF CHEMICAL WARFARE AGENTS CAN OFTEN BE STORED FOR A PERIOD OF 10 TO 20 YEARS.

THESE SAME COUNTRIES ARE ALSO QUIETLY PRODUCING AND AMASSING A VARIETY OF MUNITIONS THAT CAN BE USED AS DELIVERY SYSTEMS FOR CHEMICAL AGENTS. BOMBS, ARTILLERY SHELLS, ARTILLERY ROCKETS, AND--IN SOME CASES--BATTLEFIELD MISSILES HAVE BEEN FILLED WITH CHEMICAL AGENTS.

THE CHEMICAL WEAPONS PROGRAMS OF IRAQ, IRAN, SYRIA, AND LIBYA HAVE A NUMBER OF COMMON TRAITS:

- ALL HAVE BEEN GIVEN HIGH PRIORITY BY THEIR GOVERNMENTS AND HAVE BEEN CLOAKED IN SECRECY.
- THE PRODUCTION COMPLEXES HAVE BEEN ACCORDED STRICT SECURITY; IN MANY INSTANCES, ATTEMPTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO CONCEAL THEM AS LEGITIMATE INDUSTRIAL FACILITIES.
- ASSISTANCE BY FOREIGN SUPPLIERS HAS BEEN CRUCIAL TO THEIR DEVELOPMENT.

ASSISTANCE PROVIDED BY FOREIGN SUPPLIERS--MANY OF WHOM WERE FULLY WITTING OF THE INTENTIONS OF THE MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES TO PRODUCE CHEMICAL WEAPONS--HAS BEEN THE KEY ELEMENT THAT HAS ENABLED THESE NATIONS TO DEVELOP A CAPABILITY TO PRODUCE CHEMICAL WEAPONS WITHIN ONLY A FEW YEARS. AND, WITHOUT THIS ASSISTANCE, THESE MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES WOULD HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO PRODUCE CHEMICAL WEAPONS. FOREIGN SUPPLIERS HAVE PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF ASSISTANCE:

- TECHNICAL AND OPERATIONS EXPERTISE
- CONSTRUCTING PRODUCTION FACILITIES
- SUPPLYING PRECURSOR CHEMICALS
- SUPPLYING PRODUCTION EQUIPMENT
- SUPPLYING PARTS FOR MUNITIONS
- TRAINING PERSONNEL.

I WOULD NOW LIKE TO PROVIDE YOU WITH SOME DETAILS ABOUT THE CHEMICAL WARFARE PROGRAMS OF IRAQ, SYRIA, IRAN, AND LIBYA.

IRAQ

THE WAR WITH IRAN PROMPTED IRAQ TO ACCELERATE ITS PROGRAM TO DEVELOP A CHEMICAL WARFARE CAPABILITY. IRAQ

HAS PRODUCED CHEMICAL AGENTS AND MUNITIONS SINCE THE EARLY 1980S. THE MAIN CHEMICAL WARFARE COMPLEX, LOCATED SOME 70 KILOMETERS NORTHWEST OF BAGHDAD NEAR SAMARRA, AND A NUMBER OF OTHER PRODUCTION FACILITIES, HAVE PRODUCED SEVERAL THOUSAND TONS OF CHEMICAL AGENTS.

FROM THE PROGRAM'S INCEPTION, FIRMS AND INDIVIDUALS FROM WESTERN EUROPE WERE KEY TO THE SUPPLY OF CHEMICAL PROCESS EQUIPMENT, CHEMICAL PRECURSORS, AND TECHNICAL EXPERTISE. WEST EUROPEANS REMAINED AT SAMARRA EVEN AFTER IT BEGAN OPERATIONS. BUT AFTER SEVERAL YEARS OF EXPERIENCE IN PRODUCING CHEMICAL WEAPONS, IRAQ'S WELL-ESTABLISHED EFFORT NOW IS FAR LESS DEPENDENT ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE.

AT SAMARRA, BAGHDAD PRODUCES THE BLISTER AGENT MUSTARD AND THE NERVE AGENTS TABUN AND SARIN. SEVERAL TYPES OF WEAPONS--INCLUDING BOMBS, AND ARTILLERY SHELLS AND ROCKETS--HAVE BEEN FILLED WITH THESE AGENTS.

IRAQ FIRST MADE MILITARY USE OF CHEMICAL AGENTS IN 1983 AND 1984, WHEN IT BEGAN TO USE MUSTARD AND NERVE AGENTS AGAINST IRANIAN FORCES. BAGHDAD CONTINUED TO USE CHEMICAL AGENTS ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS DURING THE WAR. MORE RECENTLY--AND SUBSEQUENT TO THE CEASE-FIRE WITH

IRAN--IRAQ USED LETHAL AND NON-LETHAL CHEMICAL AGENTS AGAINST KURDISH CIVILIANS.

DESPITE THE CURRENT CEASE FIRE WITH IRAN, IRAQ CONTINUES TO PRODUCE AND STOCKPILE CHEMICAL WEAPONS. MOREOVER, IT IS EXPANDING ITS CHEMICAL WEAPONS CAPABILITY AND IS TAKING FURTHER STEPS TO MAKE ITS PROGRAM ENTIRELY INDEPENDENT OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE.

SYRIA

SYRIA BEGAN PRODUCING CHEMICAL WARFARE AGENTS AND MUNITIONS IN THE MID-1980S AND CURRENTLY HAS A CHEMICAL WARFARE PRODUCTION FACILITY.

SYRIA HAS NERVE AGENTS IN SOME WEAPONS SYSTEMS. DAMASCUS CONCEALS ITS PROGRAM--IT IS QUITE CLOSELY HELD-- AND, MUCH LIKE ITS MIDDLE EAST NEIGHBORS, IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO EXPAND ITS CHEMICAL WARFARE CAPABILITY.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE WAS OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE IN ALLOWING SYRIA TO DEVELOP ITS CHEMICAL WARFARE CAPABILITY. WEST EUROPEAN FIRMS WERE INSTRUMENTAL IN SUPPLYING THE REQUIRED PRECURSOR CHEMICALS AND EQUIPMENT. WITHOUT THE

PROVISION OF THESE KEY ELEMENTS, DAMASCUS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ABLE TO PRODUCE CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

IRAN

IN THE MID-1980S--AFTER NUMEROUS IRAQI CHEMICAL ATTACKS--IRAN BEGAN TO PRODUCE CHEMICAL AGENTS AND MUNITIONS, LATER USING THEM IN RETALIATION AGAINST IRAQI TROOPS. IRAN'S CHEMICAL WEAPONS PRODUCTION FACILITY IS LOCATED IN THE VICINITY OF TEHRAN.

IRAN PRODUCES THE BLISTER AGENT MUSTARD, BLOOD AGENTS, AND NERVE AGENTS AND, LIKE IRAQ, HAS FILLED BOMBS AND ARTILLERY WITH THESE AGENTS.

REPEATED CHEMICAL ATTACKS BY IRAQ AGAINST IRANIAN TROOPS PROMPTED TEHRAN TO SEEK FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO QUICKLY ESTABLISH ITS OWN PRODUCTION PROGRAM. WEST EUROPEAN AND ASIAN FIRMS RESPONDED BY PROVIDING CHEMICAL PROCESSING EQUIPMENT AND CHEMICAL PRECURSORS. DESPITE THE CEASE-FIRE WITH IRAQ, IRAN IS CONTINUING TO EXPAND ITS CHEMICAL WARFARE PROGRAM.

LIBYA

LIBYA'S RESOLVE TO HAVE A CHEMICAL WARFARE PRODUCTION CAPABILITY IS ABOUT TO BE ACHIEVED. A LARGE

COMPLEX IN A REMOTE AREA ABOUT 80 KILOMETERS SOUTHWEST OF TRIPOLI, NEAR RABTA, HAS BEEN CONSTRUCTED FOR THIS PURPOSE. WHEN THIS SITE IS FULLY OPERATIONAL, IT MAY BE THE SINGLE LARGEST CHEMICAL WARFARE AGENT PRODUCTION PLANT IN THE THIRD WORLD. BECAUSE IRAQ HAS A NUMBER OF PRODUCTION SITES, HOWEVER, ITS TOTAL PRODUCTION CAPACITY WILL CONTINUE TO EXCEED LIBYA'S.

LIBYA'S CHEMICAL AGENT PLANT IS EXPECTED TO SOON BEGIN LARGE SCALE PRODUCTION OF MUSTARD AND NERVE AGENTS--POTENTIALLY TENS OF TONS PER DAY. THE PLANT HAS ALREADY HAD AT LEAST ONE SERIOUS TOXIC CHEMICAL SPILL AND SUCH PROBLEMS ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE.

AN ADJACENT METAL FABRICATION FACILITY IS EQUIPPED WITH THE PRECISION MATERIALS TO MANUFACTURE COMPONENTS FOR A VARIETY OF BOMBS AND ARTILLERY. OTHER FACILITIES ARE INVOLVED WITH FILLING AND STORING CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

IT WOULD HAVE BEEN VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR LIBYA TO HARNESS THE TECHNOLOGIES NECESSARY TO BUILD AND OPERATE SUCH A FACILITY WITHOUT THE ASSISTANCE OF FOREIGN COMPANIES AND PERSONNEL FROM SEVERAL WEST EUROPEAN AND ASIAN COUNTRIES. WEST GERMAN ASSISTANCE HAS BEEN

EXTENSIVE AT THE CW PRODUCTION PLANT. JAPANESE FIRMS HAVE AIDED IN CONSTRUCTING THE METAL FABRICATION AREA. MANY OTHER WEST EUROPEAN SUPPLIERS HAVE ALSO BEEN INVOLVED, OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, IN CONSTRUCTION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIALS FOR THE ENTIRE COMPLEX.

LIBYA'S ABILITY TO SUSTAIN LARGE-SCALE CHEMICAL WARFARE PRODUCTION WILL, IN LARGE MEASURE, DEPEND ON CONTINUED FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. OVER TIME, TRIPOLI WILL GROW LESS DEPENDENT ON FOREIGN TECHNICAL EXPERTISE, BUT, FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, WILL REMAIN DEPENDENT ON FOREIGN SUPPLIERS TO PROVIDE CHEMICAL PRECURSORS AND EQUIPMENT.

ASSESSING THE PROLIFERATION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS IS ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT INTELLIGENCE CHALLENGES WE NOW FACE.

BECAUSE MUCH OF THE EQUIPMENT NEEDED TO PRODUCE CHEMICAL WARFARE AGENTS CAN ALSO BE USED TO PRODUCE LEGITIMATE INDUSTRIAL CHEMICALS, ANY PHARMACEUTICAL OR PESTICIDE PLANT CAN BE CONVERTED TO PRODUCE THESE AGENTS. A NATION WITH EVEN A MODEST CHEMICAL INDUSTRY COULD USE ITS FACILITIES FOR PART-TIME PRODUCTION OF CHEMICAL WARFARE AGENTS.

Revised: 2 Feb 87

LIBYAN LEADER QADHAFI, IN A SPEECH DELIVERED IN OCTOBER, CLAIMED THAT THE FACILITY AT RABTA IS INTENDED TO PRODUCE PHARMACEUTICALS--NOT CHEMICAL WARFARE AGENTS-- AND HE PROPOSED OPENING THE COMPLEX FOR INTERNATIONAL INSPECTION. BUT WITHIN FEWER THAN 24 HOURS, IT WOULD BE RELATIVELY EASY FOR THE LIBYANS TO MAKE THE SITE APPEAR TO BE A PHARMACEUTICAL FACILITY. ALL TRACES OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS PRODUCTION COULD BE REMOVED IN THAT AMOUNT OF TIME.

THE PRIMARY PURPOSE OF THIS SITE, HOWEVER, IS CLEARLY CHEMICAL WARFARE PRODUCTION. THE SPECIALIZED EQUIPMENT, BUILDING DESIGN, AND SECURITY THERE FAR EXCEED THE REQUIREMENTS OF A COMMERCIAL PLANT.

THIS CONCLUDES MY OPENING REMARKS ON THE PROLIFERATION OF CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS. I WISH TO ASSURE YOU THAT THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY KEEPS THE ADMINISTRATION, AS WELL AS THE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE, FULLY INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS AREA.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION. I WILL NOW TRY TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS YOU MAY HAVE, ALTHOUGH PLEASE UNDERSTAND THAT I WILL BE CONSTRAINED BY THE NEED TO PROTECT HIGHLY SENSITIVE SOURCES AND METHODS.

**DO THE SOVIETS SHARE OUR CONCERNS ABOUT
CHEMICAL WARFARE PROLIFERATION?**

BOTH THE US AND USSR HAVE MADE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE STATEMENTS CONDEMNING CHEMICAL WEAPONS PROLIFERATION. THE US HOLDS BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION YEARLY ON THIS SUBJECT. THESE MEETINGS FACILITATE THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AND INFORMATION ON A SUBJECT ABOUT WHICH BOTH THE US AND USSR ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED. THESE MEETINGS ARE A USEFUL ADJUNCT TO THE MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS AT THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT FOR A WORLDWIDE CHEMICAL BAN.

**HOW DO THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES VIEW NEGOTIATIONS
FOR A WORLDWIDE CHEMICAL WEAPONS BAN?**

MANY THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES HAVE MADE PROPORTIONATELY LARGE INVESTMENTS IN THEIR CHEMICAL WEAPONS PROGRAMS. THEY VIEW THESE WEAPONS AS THE MOST EXPEDIENT MEANS OF ATTAINING A WEAPON OF MASS DESTRUCTION FOR USE AS A STRATEGIC DETERRENT AGAINST POWERFUL ENEMIES.

THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES INCREASINGLY BELIEVE THAT A CHEMICAL WEAPONS BAN MUST BE LINKED TO A NUCLEAR WEAPONS BAN TO PROVIDE A TOTAL BAN ON WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. IN THIS REGARD, MANY OF THE ARAB NATIONS MAY BE UNWILLING TO GIVE UP THEIR CHEMICAL WEAPONS AS LONG AS THEY BELIEVE THAT ISRAEL HAS NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

CAN A CHEMICAL WEAPONS TREATY BE VERIFIED?

IT IS VERY DIFFICULT FOR THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY TO MONITOR THE PROLIFERATION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS. ALL OF THE EQUIPMENT NEEDED TO PRODUCE CHEMICAL WARFARE AGENTS CAN ALSO BE USED TO PRODUCE INDUSTRIAL CHEMICALS, AND ANY PHARMACEUTICAL OR PESTICIDE PLANT COULD BE EASILY CONVERTED TO CW PRODUCTION. IN ADDITION, THIRD WORLD NATIONS OFTEN SHROUD THEIR CHEMICAL WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS IN THE STRICTEST SECRECY, FURTHER COMPLICATING OUR ABILITY TO ASSESS THE DEVELOPMENT OF THESE CAPABILITIES. FINALLY, THESE COUNTRIES DEVELOP ELABORATE MECHANISMS TO CIRCUMVENT EMBARGOES THAT ARE CURRENTLY IN EXISTENCE.

ALTHOUGH WE REALIZE IT WOULD BE EXTEREMELY DIFFICULT TO VERIFY A CHEMICAL WEAPONS TREATY, THE U.S. IS WORKING DILIGENTLY AT THE CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN GENEVA TO ENSURE THAT VERY STRINGENT VERIFICATION PROVISIONS WILL BE INCLUDED IN THE TREATY BEING NEGOTIATED. ALTHOUGH STRICT VERIFICATION PROCEDURES WILL HELP ENHANCE OUR CONFIDENCE THAT THE TREATY WILL BE ADHERED TO, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO IDENTIFY THOSE FACILITIES THAT ARE NOT DECLARED, AND EVEN MORE DIFFICULT TO PROVE THAT THEY ARE IN VIOLATION OF THE TREATY.

WHY DO SO MANY NATIONS NOW HAVE CHEMICAL
WEAPONS PROGRAMS?

THE PROLIFERATION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS CAPABILITIES
BEGAN IN THE 1970S, WITH THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR PROVIDING THE
IMPETUS FOR THE RECENT RAPID GROWTH OF CHEMICAL WARFARE
PROGRAMS.

ALTHOUGH BOTH SIDES HAD CHEMICAL WEAPONS AVAILABLE
IN WORLD WAR II, NEITHER SIDE USED THEM. PERHAPS THIS
RESTRAINT WAS A RESULT OF THE MEMORY--STILL FRESH IN THE
MINDS OF MANY--OF THE HORRIBLE EFFECTS CAUSED BY CHEMICAL
WEAPONS IN WORLD WAR I. THAT RESTRAINT ENDED WITH THE
IRAN-IRAQ WAR.

LIMITED PUBLIC OUTCRY OVER THE USE OF CHEMICAL
WEAPONS, COUPLED WITH IRAQ'S SUCCESSFUL USE OF CHEMICALS
ON THE BATTLEFIELD, MAY ACTUALLY SPUR OTHER NATIONS TO
DEVELOP AND USE THEIR OWN CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

CAN YOU PLEASE TELL US WHICH COUNTRIES HAVE
CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE PROGRAMS?

AS I HAVE STATED, OVER 20 COUNTRIES ARE WORKING TO
DEVELOP CHEMICAL WARFARE PROGRAMS. THOSE COUNTRIES
INCLUDE THE U.S., THE U.S.S.R, IRAQ, IRAN, SYRIA, AND LIBYA. FOR
INTELLIGENCE REASONS--SOURCES AND METHODS--I AM NOT AT
LIBERTY TO IDENTIFY ANY ADDITIONAL NATIONS.

REGARDING THE AT LEAST 10 NATIONS WHICH ARE
DEVELOPING BIOLOGICAL WARFARE CAPABILITIES, I CAN ONLY
STATE THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS A BIOLOGICAL WARFARE
PROGRAM.

WHAT IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT TERRORISTS MAY
DEVELOP OR ACQUIRE CHEMICAL WEAPONS FROM
PROLIFERATING NATIONS?

WE CONTINUE TO BE EXTREMELY CONCERNED THAT SUCH AN
EVENT COULD TAKE PLACE. WE ARE MONITORING CLOSELY THE
ACQUISITION OF CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WARFARE
CAPABILITIES BY A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES WHICH ARE CURRENT
OR PAST SUPPORTERS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST GROUPS. WE
ARE INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE POTENTIAL FOR
DELIBERATE OR INADVERTENT TRANSFER OF THESE CHEMICAL AND
BIOLOGICAL WARFARE AGENTS TO THESE GROUPS. TO DATE,
HOWEVER, WE HAVE NO INFORMATION THAT ANY SUCH TRANSFERS
HAVE TAKEN PLACE.

WHY IS BALLISTIC MISSILE PROLIFERATION A PROBLEM?

BALLISTIC MISSILES PROVIDE THIRD WORLD NATIONS WITH THE CAPABILITY TO STRIKE WELL BEYOND THE BATTLEFIELD. THUS EVEN A SHORT-RANGE BALLISTIC MISSILE CAN PROVIDE MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES WITH A TRULY STRATEGIC WEAPON SYSTEM.

ACQUISITION OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS THAT COULD DELIVER CHEMICAL OR BIOLOGICAL AGENTS HEIGHTENS THE ALREADY TENSE SITUATION IN THE TROUBLED MIDDLE EAST. AND FEAR OF A STRIKE--PRE-EMPTIVE OR OTHERWISE--WITH THESE WEAPONS ONLY SERVES TO INCREASE THE INSTABILITY OF THE REGION.

CAN YOU PLEASE COMMENT ON ANY OF THE RECENT
MEDIA STATEMENTS ABOUT IRAQ'S BIOLOGICAL
WARFARE PROGRAM?

AS I HAVE STATED, AT LEAST 10 NATIONS ARE WORKING TO
DEVELOP BIOLOGICAL WARFARE PROGRAMS. I CAN NEITHER
CONFIRM NOR DENY THE EXISTENCE OF AN IRAQI BW PROGRAM. I
CAN ONLY STATE THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS ONE OF THE NATIONS
WITH A BW PROGRAM.

DOES ISRAEL HAVE A CHEMICAL WARFARE PROGRAM?

I CANNOT ADDRESS THE ISRAELI SITUATION SPECIFICALLY.
AS I HAVE STATED PREVIOUSLY, CHEMICAL WARFARE PRODUCTION
TECHNOLOGY IS FAIRLY SIMPLE. A TECHNOLOGICALLY ADVANCED
NATION WOULD PROBABLY HAVE NO DIFFICULTY PRODUCING
CHEMICAL WEAPONS IF IT CHOSE TO DO SO.

HOW EFFECTIVE ARE EMBARGOES OF PRECURSOR
CHEMICALS AT STOPPING CW PROLIFERATION?

THE US MEETS TWICE A YEAR WITH THE OTHER 18 MEMBERS
OF THE AUSTRALIAN SUPPLIERS GROUP TO DISCUSS
INTERNATIONAL CONTROLS ON SHIPMENTS OF CHEMICALS THAT
CAN BE USED TO PRODUCE CHEMICAL WARFARE AGENTS. AS A
RESULT OF THESE MEETINGS, CHEMICAL WEAPONS PROLIFERATION
HAS SLOWED, BUT NOT STOPPED.

INTERNATIONAL CONTROLS HAVE CAUSED COUNTRIES AND
COMPANIES TO SET UP CIRCUITOUS ROUTES IN ORDER TO OBTAIN
THE MATERIALS THEY REQUIRE.

WHAT FUTURE ACTIONS BY THE US CAN EITHER STOP OR
SLOW CW PROLIFERATION?

THE RELATIVE EASE WITH WHICH ANY NATION CAN ACQUIRE A
CHEMICAL WARFARE CAPABILITY MAKES THIS A COMPLICATED
QUESTION. THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO AGGRESSIVELY PURSUE
NEGOTIATIONS THAT WILL LEAD TO AN EFFECTIVELY VERIFIABLE
WORLDWIDE CHEMICAL WEAPONS BAN THAT WILL BE SIGNED BY
ALL CHEMICAL CAPABLE NATIONS. WE CANNOT BE CERTAIN,
HOWEVER, THAT WE HAVE IDENTIFIED ALL CHEMICAL WARFARE
PRODUCTION FACILITIES BECAUSE THE EQUIPMENT AND FACILITIES
USED TO MAKE CHEMICAL WEAPONS CAN HAVE MORE THAN ONE
USE. THIS DIFFICULTY ALSO MAKES LIKELY THE POSSIBILITY THAT
THERE ARE CHEMICAL WARFARE PROGRAMS THAT WE HAVE NOT
YET IDENTIFIED.

THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO HOLD DISCUSSIONS WITH BOTH
OUR ALLIES AND THE SOVIETS ON CURTAILING FOREIGN
ASSISTANCE TO THIRD WORLD CHEMICAL WARFARE PROGRAMS.
FINALLY, THE U.S. WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL
EFFORTS TO EMBARGO PRECURSOR CHEMICALS.

WHAT SORTS OF CONTROLS OR EMBARGOES WOULD BE
EFFECTIVE AT STOPPING BW PROLIFERATION?

THE EQUIPMENT, MATERIALS, AND EXPERTISE NEEDED TO PRODUCE BIOLOGICAL WARFARE AGENTS ARE TRULY DUAL-USE IN NATURE. THERE ARE NO ITEMS COMPARABLE TO PRECURSOR CHEMICALS FOR THE PRODUCTION OF BIOLOGICAL WARFARE AGENTS. BECAUSE ALL OF THESE MATERIALS HAVE LEGITIMATE USES IN THE PHARMACEUTICAL AND MEDICAL INDUSTRY, TRADE IN THESE ITEMS IS UNRESTRICTED. NOR WOULD WE WANT TO DENY UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES THE CHANCE TO IMPROVE THEIR HEALTH BY RESTRICTING THE TRADE OF BIOMEDICAL RESEARCH EQUIPMENT. BECAUSE THERE ARE SO MANY LEGITIMATE MEDICAL USES OF THIS EQUIPMENT, IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO AGREE ON AN EMBARGO. AND WITHOUT THE AGREEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AN EMBARGO WOULD HAVE VERY LIMITED EFFECTIVENESS.

HAVE ANY U.S. FIRMS BEEN INVOLVED IN SUPPLYING
MATERIALS TO CHEMICAL WEAPONS PROGRAMS?

AS YOU KNOW, IT IS NOT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY TO MONITOR ANY U.S. ACTIVITIES.
HOWEVER, WE CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE FBI AND US
CUSTOMS SERVICE AND TO BE ALERT FOR ANY INDICATION THAT A
U.S. FIRM WOULD BE INVOLVED IN CW PROLIFERATION. ONLY BY
MAINTAINING THIS CLOSE RELATIONSHIP CAN WE HOPE TO
DISCOVER AND LEGALLY PROSECUTE ANY FIRM THAT IS INVOLVED IN
SUCH DEALINGS.

WHY DO COMPANIES CONTINUE TO SUPPLY MATERIALS
TO CHEMICAL WARFARE PROGRAMS IN SPITE OF LAWS
BANNING THEIR SALE?

MOST OF THE COMPANIES THAT SUPPLY PRECURSOR
CHEMICALS, EQUIPMENT, AND EXPERTISE TO CHEMICAL WARFARE
PROGRAMS DO SO WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS.
POSSIBLY BECAUSE OF EMBARGOES, THE MARKET FOR THESE
MATERIALS IS QUITE LUCRATIVE.

AND ALTHOUGH WE CONTINUE FORMAL DIALOGS WITH OTHER
GOVERNMENTS ON THIS SUBJECT, YOU MUST REALIZE THAT OFTEN
INTELLIGENCE DOES NOT PROVIDE LEGALLY ADMISSIBLE PROOF OF
WRONGDOING.

**HAVE WE SHARED INFORMATION WITH OUR ALLIES ON
THE INVOLVEMENT OF THEIR COMPANIES IN CHEMICAL
WEAPONS PROLIFERATION?**

WE ARE AGGRESSIVELY PURSUING THIS APPROACH WITH OUR
ALLIES, AND HAVE PROVIDED BRIEFINGS TO A NUMBER OF THEM.
WITH THE INFORMATION WE HAVE PROVIDED, WE ARE HOPEFUL
THAT OTHER GOVERNMENTS WILL PURSUE THEIR OWN LEGAL
MEANS OF INVESTIGATING AND PROSECUTING COMPANIES AND/OR
INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE PROVIDED MATERIALS TO VARIOUS
CHEMICAL WARFARE PROGRAMS. WE PLAN TO CONTINUE DIALOGS
ON THIS SUBJECT.

**WHAT EFFORTS ARE BEING UNDERTAKEN TO ENSURE
THAT THE U.S. HAS ADEQUATE INFORMATION ON
CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS PROLIFERATION?**

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE
PRESIDENT'S 1985 CHEMICAL WARFARE REVIEW COMMISSION, I CAN
ASSURE YOU THAT WE HAVE INCREASED OUR EFFORTS TO PROVIDE
ACCURATE AND TIMELY REPORTING ON CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL
WARFARE PROLIFERATION. WE ARE AWARE OF THE HIGH LEVEL OF
INTEREST IN THIS SUBJECT, AND CONSISTENTLY EXPLORE ALL
AVAILABLE SOURCES OF INTELLIGENCE TO PROVIDE POLICYMAKERS
WITH THE INFORMATION THEY REQUIRE.

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